

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 TOKYO 12210 111022Z  
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W  
-----089774 111025Z /12  
O 110935Z AUG 77  
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 110

S E C R E T TOKYO 12210

NODIS

FOR ACTING SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER AND ASST. SECY HOLBROOKE  
EYES ONLY FROM MANSFIELD

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: ENRG, PARM, TECH, JA  
SUBJECT: NEW IMPRESSIONS OF TOKAI MURA SITUATION

REF: A. TOKYO 11748, B. TOKYO 12191, C. STATE 180315

1. IN A SEPARATE CABLE SENT FROM HERE TODAY (REFTEL B), THE EMBASSY IS REPORTING TO THE DEPARTMENT THE CURRENT STATUS OF JAPANESE GOVERNMENT THINKING ON HOW TO RESOLVE THE TOKAI MURA REPROCESSING PLANT QUESTION. I AM CONCERNED THAT THE JAPANESE HAVE NOT MOVED VERY FAR TOWARD ACHIEVING THE MUTUAL COMPROMISE WE HAVE BEEN SEEKING, BUT I CONTINUE TO HOLD THE BELIEF, AS STATED IN REFTEL A, THAT OPTION 2 IS STILL A VIABLE COURSE, AND THAT THE JAPANESE CAN BE BROUGHT WITHIN ITS RANGE.

2. I HAVE ONE RESERVATION, HOWEVER, THAT IS BASED MORE ON UNDERTAINTY THAN FACT. AFTER BEING INFORMED OF THE LATEST JAPANESE THINKING, WE HAVE RE-EXAMINED THE PROVISIONS OF OPTION 2 AS SET FORTH IN REFTEL C AND REALIZE THAT THERE ARE TWO POSSIBLE INTERPRETATIONS. WE HAVE BEEN ASSUMING THAT UNDER OPTION 2 THE JAPANESE WOULD NOT BE REQUIRED TO MAKE A COMMITMENT TO CHANGING THE OPERA-  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 TOKYO 12210 111022Z

TION OF THE TOKAI MURA PLANT FROM THE ONE ORIGINALLY PLANNED TO WHAT IS CALLED THE CO-PROCESSING MODE UNTIL AFTER CERTAIN RESEARCH WAS DONE AND UNTIL AFTER THE RESULTS OF INFCEP WERE AVAILABLE. THE COMMENTS OFFERED IN MY MESSAGE TO DICK HOLBROOKE (REF A) WERE IN FACT BASED ON THAT PREMISE. A REREADING OF OPTION 2, HOWEVER, INDICATES THAT IT MAY BE INTENDED TO REQUIRE THE JAPANESE

TO MAKE A COMMITMENT TO GO TO CO-PROCESSING DURING THE NEXT ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS, AND THAT THE COMMITMENT WOULD BE BINDING WITHOUT REGARD TO FURTHER RESEARCH OR TO THE RESULTS OF INFCEP. AS NOTED IN OPTION 2, THIS WOULD NECESSARILY REQUIRE THE JAPANESE TO ASSUME HEAVY ADDITIONAL COSTS (IN THE RANGE INDICATED IN REF C PARA 8); AS JOINT TECHNICAL STUDY SHOWED THIS ALSO WOULD ENTAIL LONG DELAYS IN THEIR NUCLEAR POWER DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM.

3. I REGRET TO SAY THAT I AM FEARFUL THAT IF THE LATTER COURSE IS IN FACT THE ONE THAT IS TO BE TAKEN, IT WILL CATCH THE JAPANESE BY SURPRISE, THEY WILL BE UNABLE TO THINK OF WAYS TO ACCOMMODATE THIS APPROACH, AND THE THIRD ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE DOOMED TO FAILURE. WHATEVER FLEXIBILITY THERE MAY BE IN THE JAPANESE POSITION, I DO NOT BELIEVE THEY WILL AGREE TO AN UNDERTAKING WHICH THEY ARE VIRTUALLY CERTAIN TO REGARD AS CONTRARY TO THE PRINCIPLES AGREED UPON FOR THE INFCEP STUDY, AND AS IMPOSING ON JAPAN MORE STRINGENT CONDITIONS THAN THE US IS IN A POSITION TO PERSUADE WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES TO AGREE TO--IN SHORT, DISCRIMINATION AGAINST JAPAN. SUCH A REACTION, MORE-OVER, IS LIKELY TO RAISE DOUBTS IN THE MINDS OF GOJ LEADERS ABOUT THE RELIABILITY OF THE PRESIDENT'S ASSURANCE TO PRIME MINISTER FUKUDA THAT HE PERSONALLY  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 TOKYO 12210 111022Z

WOULD ENDEAVOR TO REACH A COMPROMISE THAT WILL ACCOMMODATE BOTH OUR INTERESTS, AN ASSURANCE WHICH I HAVE REITERATED IN SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSIONS WITH LEADING OFFICIALS INVOLVED.

4. I AM MORE CONCERNED ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF A CONFRONTATION ON THIS PARTICULAR ISSUE SINCE, IN VIEW OF THE POLITICAL HEAT SURROUNDING THIS WHOLE ISSUE IN JAPAN, I BELIEVE THAT IT IS NECESSARY TO MAKE SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS TOWARD A SOLUTION IN THE NEXT ROUND, EVEN IF A FINAL COMPROMISE CANNOT BE REACHED. I THINK THAT PROGRESS AND MAYBE EVEN A CONCLUSION TO THE NEGOTIATIONS CAN BE REACHED IF WE DO NOT FORCE THE JAPANESE IN A DIRECTION WHICH, ON THE BASIS OF ALL EVIDENCE AVAILABLE TO DATE, THEY ARE UNPREPARED TO TAKE AND WHICH IS POLITICALLY UNACCEPTABLE TO THEM.

5. I HOPE THAT IT WILL BE POSSIBLE FOR YOU TO MAKE MY VIEWS KNOWN TO THE PRESIDENT AT THIS CRITICAL TIME IN HIS CONSIDERATION OF THE NEXT STEPS TO BE TAKEN BY THE US.

MANSFIELD

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NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
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**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
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**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
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**To:** STATE  
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